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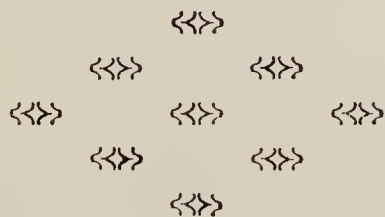
JOHN ENDECOTT  
AND  
JOHN WINTHROP

ADDRESS  
BY  
WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

*President of the Massachusetts Historical Society*

AT THE  
TERCENTENARY BANQUET AT SALEM  
JUNE 12, 1930

To  
*Commemorate the Arrival of Governor Winthrop  
with the Charter*



BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS :: MCMXXX



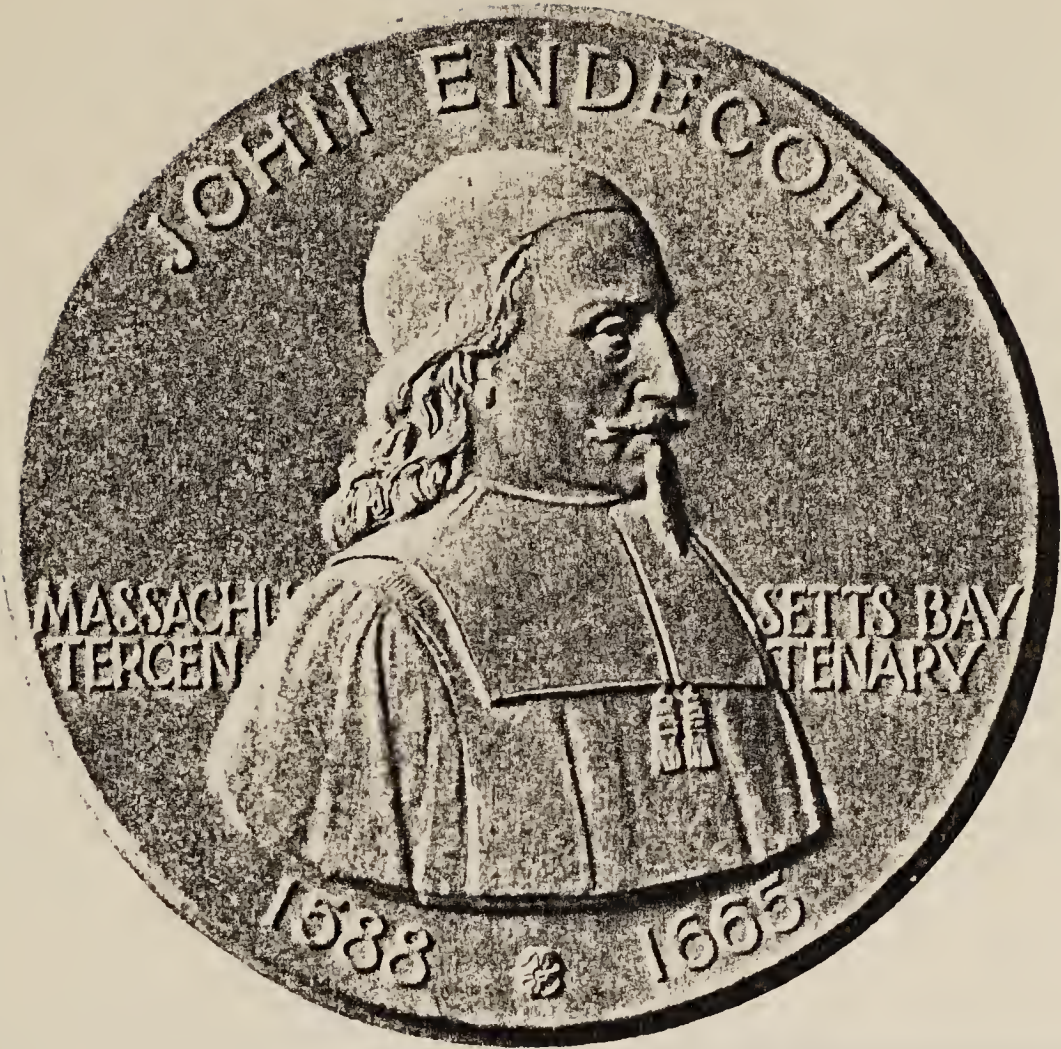


JOHN ENDECOTT  
AND  
JOHN WINTHROP

1771772







*Endecott Tercentenary Medal  
Designed by Laura Gardin Fraser for William C. Endicott, Esq.*







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Endicott, William Crowninshield, 1860-

—John Endecott and John Winthrop; address by William Crowninshield Endicott ... at the tercentenary banquet at Salem, June 12, 1930, to commemorate the arrival of Governor Winthrop with the charter. Boston, Mass. [Thomas Todd company, 1930.

32 p. front., pl., ports. 24<sup>cm</sup>.

"Read also before the Massachusetts historical society, October 9, 1930."

1. Endecott, John, 1588?-1665.
2. Winthrop, John, 1588-1649.
3. Massachusetts—Hist.—Colonial period.



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# JOHN ENDECOTT AND JOHN WINTHROP

By

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT

WHEN I received, some weeks ago, an invitation from your Honoured Mayor to be the guest of the City of Salem and to deliver an address upon this memorable occasion—I accepted that invitation at once with genuine satisfaction and appreciation of the honour conferred upon me. Though it is now many years since I lived in your midst, I was born and brought up in Salem, I was educated in her public schools, and I have a deep and lasting affection for the old town, which time seems to strengthen, for to-day I feel as if I were one of you, returning home.

\* \* \* \* \*

It was on a lovely Saturday morning three hundred years ago that the good ship *Arbella*, Captain Peter Milborne, master, “passed through the narrow strait between Baker’s Isle and Little Isle [now Misery Island], and came to an anchor a little within the islands.”<sup>1</sup> The probability is that the *Arbella* first cast anchor off the Loring Place at Prides Crossing, where she remained until Monday, June 14. “In the morning early we weighed anchor, and the wind being against us, and the channel so narrow as we could not well turn in, we warped in our ship and came to an anchor in the inward harbour.”<sup>2</sup> The final place of anchorage is a matter of diversity of opinion, but was probably on the North River near the present Beverly Bridge, not far from the place where Captain Endecott had landed nearly two years before.

John Endecott welcomed John Winthrop and his company to New England and entertained him and others,

<sup>1</sup>John Winthrop, *The History of New England* (James Savage, Ed., Boston, 1853), I. 30.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 31-32.



including Isaac Johnson and his wife, Lady Arbella, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, at his "faire house." In his *Journal* Winthrop says:

We that were of the assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women, and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeck, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind.<sup>3</sup>

In those days "good beer" was apparently considered a necessity in the daily lives of the colonists, for the ship *Talbot*, of three hundred tons, had arrived the previous year from England with Mr. Francis Higginson, one of the ministers accredited to the new settlement, with forty-five large casks of beer aboard and only six casks of water.<sup>4</sup>

While the newly-arrived Governor and other prominent people were being entertained by John Endecott "most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries."<sup>5</sup>

The re-appearance of the *Arbella* to-day in the harbour of Salem was a thrilling spectacle to us all. The perfect setting brought vividly to our minds that epoch-making event of long years ago. Great credit is due to all those who laboured hard to reproduce the scene. The pageant which we have witnessed is even now a memory—but a memory that will last as long as the men, women, and children who stood on the shore of Forest Hill Park shall live.

\* \* \* \* \*

In the summer of 1623 the Dorchester Adventurers sent out a company of men directly from England to Cape Ann,

<sup>3</sup>Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. 30-31; see also *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* LXII. 353.

<sup>4</sup>Alexander Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1846), 45. Until the eighteenth century clergymen were usually called "Master," *i.e.* "Mr.," not Reverend. Yet John White, in *The Planters Plea*, calls Endecott "Master," which would imply that he thought Endecott had taken his Master's Degree at some university.

<sup>5</sup>Winthrop, *History of New England*, 31. In the seventeenth century the coast as far south as the present site of Beverly was called Cape Ann.







in the *Fellowship*, of Weymouth, and established a trading and fishing post on the west side of Gloucester Harbour. Two years of losses and hardship had discouraged the men concerned when, in 1625, Roger Conant and John Lyford, who had left the Plymouth Colony for various reasons, joined them. After the collapse of the Dorchester Company Conant became the leader of the men who remained, and it was through his courage and indomitable will that they held together. In the late autumn of 1626 some of the "old planters" (as they later styled themselves), Roger Conant, John Balch, John Tilley, John Woodbury, William Allen, William Trask, Thomas Gardner, Thomas Gray, William Jeffrey, Walter Knight, Richard Norman, and Peter Palfrey, with others, moved to Naumkeag, though they had been urged to follow John Lyford to Virginia. Had it not been for Conant, all the old planters would have gone.

But Mr. Conant, as one inspired by some superior instinct, though never so earnestly pressed to go along with them, peremptorily declared his mind to wait the providence of God in that place where now they were, yea, though all the rest should forsake him, not doubting, as he said, but if they departed, he should soon have more company.<sup>6</sup>

His dream was realized, for Captain John Endecott sailed from Weymouth in the *Abigail*, Henry Gauden, master, on June 20, 1628, and reached Naumkeag on September 6 following. Authorities seem to differ as to the number of persons who came with Endecott. There may have been between fifty and sixty in all. Dr. Palfrey, in an address delivered at Danvers in 1852, says:

When the vessel which bore the first Governor of Massachusetts was entering the harbor of Salem, she was anxiously watched from the beach by four individuals, styled, in the quaint chronicles of the time, as "Roger Conant and three sober men."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup>Young, *Chronicles*, 27-28. See also S. E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), 28-30.

<sup>7</sup>*Account of the Centennial Celebration in Danvers* (Boston, 1852), 130.





On March 19, 1627/28, the Council for New England, established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, had granted to six original purchasers: "Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Young, Knightes; Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Symon Whetcombe":

All that parte of Newe England in America aforesaid which lyes and extendes [from three miles north of the Merrimack to three miles south of the Charles] from the Atlantick and westernne Sea and Ocean on the East parte, to the South Sea on the west parte,

— more land than was realized at the time.<sup>8</sup> The original indenture has been lost, but the substance of its provisions is contained in the Royal Charter issued for Charles I on March 4, 1628/29 and authorized by Wolseley, which gives and confirms the extent of the purchase of March 19, 1627/28 and names the same northerly and southerly limits.

But the purchasers, anticipating a charter from the King, made haste to send an agent to New England. John White, the Puritan Rector of Trinity Church, Dorchester, England, the author of a pamphlet urging men of wealth, social influence, and education to found a colony in New England, wrote:

it fell out, that among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott*, a man well knowne to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept of the offer as soone as it was tendered.<sup>9</sup>

John Endecott was the first of the six original purchasers to migrate and alone of them figures conspicuously in the history of New England. By his contemporaries he is described as an able soldier who had served his King and Country in the Low Countries, and as a good man well fitted for wilderness work. In the two years previous to the landing of Winthrop the preparation of the ground, the building of roads and houses, and the allotment of lands by Endecott paved the way for the future and did much to

<sup>8</sup>*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXII. 252-253.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.* (*The Planters Plea*), 419.





establish a stable government before the Great Emigration. To take possession of the land which had been purchased in order to promote a plantation managed from London, seems to have been the chief end in view at the outset. There is no evidence that the major interest of the six purchasers of the soil of Massachusetts was religious. The transformation of a trading venture into the project for a Puritan Colony occurred some time during the summer of 1629, and the cause was probably primarily political. But it is not unreasonable to suppose that Endecott's part was important, too; in the first place, he was on the spot; in the second place, his connection with Cradock, by marriage, probably helped to draw into the Company the great wealth and influence of its first Governor.

On Endecott's arrival the old planters were at first inclined to dispute his authority, but they were soon reconciled to the new condition of things, and in token of an amicable adjustment of their affairs the Indian name of Naumkeag, "the place of eels", was changed to Salem, the Hebrew word for "peace."<sup>10</sup> The old planters moved across the river to the site of Beverly, the name of which Roger Conant petitioned the General Court in vain to change to Bass River.

The cold of the winter of 1628-1629 was severe, far greater than had ever been known in England, which led to much suffering and sickness and many deaths. Houses were few and badly built. Food ran short—supplies from England had failed—even Indian corn could not be had. The Indians themselves "were forced to lengthen out their own food with Acorns." Edward Johnson, afterwards town clerk at Woburn, wrote of that time that those who survived:

made shift to rub out the Winters cold by the Fire-side, having fuel enough growing at their very doores, turning down many

<sup>10</sup>J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1858-1864), I. 289, translates Salem as an adjective—"peaceful."





a drop of the Bottell, and burning Tobacco with all the ease they could, discoursing betweene one while and another, of the great progresse they would make after the Summers-Sun had changed the Earths white furr'd Gowne into a greene Mantell.<sup>11</sup>

During this terrible winter there were no physicians at Salem and at the request of Governor Endecott, Governor Bradford of the Plymouth settlement sent up Doctor Samuel Fuller, a deacon of the Church there, to assist him with the sick. Fuller did much to alleviate the suffering, but he also had great influence with the settlers—from an Anglican point of view, a revolutionary one. The adherents to the Church of England were many, but he seems to have persuaded most of the people at Salem to adopt the independent form of church discipline. When the great immigration under Winthrop came, the later arrivals acquiesced in this; so that afterwards it was almost impossible to establish a real distinction between the Non-Conformist churches in Massachusetts and the Separatist churches in the Old Colony of Plymouth. The ceremonies and traditions of the Church of England were quietly laid aside. Ministers were elected. The laymen laid hands upon them as an emblem of the authority given them. No Ecclesiasticism there!

But the change in discipline was not effected with unanimous consent. Samuel and John Browne, the one a lawyer and the other a merchant, had come over with Higginson and Skelton. Both devout men of substance, they objected to the lack of ceremonies in religious services and gathered together a company for worship at which they used the Book of Common Prayer. Endecott found out what they were doing and “convented the two Brothers before him.” In short, these brothers accused Higginson and Skelton of being Separatists—which the ministers denied, “whereupon the Governor and Council decided in favour of the Minis-

<sup>11</sup>Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence* (W. F. Poole, Ed., Andover, 1867), 20.





ters," and Endecott shipped the Brownes back to England.<sup>12</sup> As a result, the Company had to compensate both of the brothers and urged Endecott to be cautious, in a letter of shrewd advice rather than rebuke. For the next two years Endecott was the actual and undisputed leader in the administration of the affairs of the Plantation.

The dates of the assembling and the dissolution of the Third Parliament of Charles I almost coincide with two important steps in the founding of the Colony. On March 17, 1627/28, just two days before the date of the Rosewell Indenture, there met at Westminster a Parliament composed of men bitterly antagonistic to the rule of the Stuarts, especially as practised by the Duke of Buckingham. On May 28, 1628, that Parliament passed the Petition of Right—the second Great Charter of English Liberty—to which Charles I gave his unwilling assent. Aghast at the audacity of his subjects, he immediately violated the provisions of the Petition. Especially in the interpretation of its terms, the attitude of the King was offensive to Puritan statesmen. Yet at the very time Charles I was thwarting the advocates of free government on English soil, he signed the King's Bill (February 27, 1628/29) which authorized the issue of the Royal Charter to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the very Charter that was later carried off to America, where it was to serve for over half a century as the written constitution of what was practically a free state. On March 4, 1628/29, the same day the Charter passed the Seals, Charles I published the proclamation dissolving his Third Parliament. This proclamation, signed in secret on the second and put into effect on the tenth of March, was followed by a period of autocratic rule. No Parliament sat at Westminster until 1640.

The Puritan minority had long been active in the life of the nation; now, during eleven years of oppression, dissatis-

<sup>12</sup>Young, *Chronicles*, 287-288, *n.* 3; Nathaniel Morton, *New-Englands Memorials*, (Cambridge, 1669; Facsimile Edition, Boston, 1903), 76-77.





faction was to grow more acute, and men were forced either to fight for their rights, if they remained at home, or emigrate to New England, in the hope of establishing a government of their own, free from the dictation of a Church and a State in the hands of their enemies—provided the laws they made were not “contrarie or repugnant” to those of the realm of England.<sup>13</sup>

The second great expedition (the first under the Royal Charter) occurred in the spring of 1629. Six ships with over four hundred people: 300 men, 80 women, and 26 children, and carrying also 140 head of cattle, 40 goats, and an abundance of tools and ammunition, sailed from England during the month of May 4–June 3. The *George Bonaventure* was the first to leave the Isle of Wight, having come around from the Thames during the previous fortnight. She crossed alone, a week ahead, with Samuel Sharpe, the agent of Governor Cradock, bringing to John Endecott the duplicate of the Royal Charter, now belonging to the Salem Athenæum and deposited in the Essex Institute, one of the two new silver seals of the Company, the votes of the General Court, and a letter from the Governor and Deputy in London. Mr. Samuel Skelton, one of the three ministers selected by the Company to be sent out to the Plantation, accompanied Sharpe. The *George* reached Salem June 23, 1629.

The *Talbot* and the *Lion's Whelp* left the Isle of Wight just a week after the *George* (May 11), bringing Mr. Higginson and Mr. Bright, the other two clergymen. Francis Higginson, the leader of this expedition, had been educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, and had left his living in Leicestershire because of his Non-Conformity. A copy of the journal he kept during the voyage of the *Talbot* exists to this day and may possibly have suggested the beginning of Winthrop's Journal the following spring. Higginson brought over a duplicate of the letter to Endecott, with a postscript

<sup>13</sup>*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* LXII. 262.





dated April 21. The last three ships, the *Mayflower* of Yarmouth, and the *Four Sisters* and the *Pilgrim* of London, left the Thames June 3, 1629. The Company spent £2400 sending out these last three ships, and the total cost of their maintenance was £400 a month.<sup>14</sup>

By midsummer of 1629 the government of what was to be known as "The Gouvernor and Councell of Londons Plantacion in the Mattachusetts Bay, in New England" was definitely established. The Company had voted that copies of all legislation for the Plantation should "from tyme to tyme bee sent the Company in London."<sup>15</sup> As yet there has been discovered no documentary evidence to show what meetings of the Governor and Council took place at that early period (1629-1630), or where the lost reports may be, save one small clew found in a letter written to John Winthrop, Jr., by Edward Howes (London, March 25, 1633) in which he says: "There was presented to the Lords lately, about 22 of C. Indicutts lawes."<sup>16</sup> The reference is probably to the "Lords Commissioners for Plantations in General," which Charles I appointed some time in 1633 under the chairmanship of Laud, the new Archbishop of Canterbury.

\* \* \* \* \*

The important points in the history of the Massachusetts Bay Company up to this time, three hundred years ago, have been lightly touched upon. Meanwhile financial distress, particularly in the eastern counties of England, added to the social unrest in Church and State, encouraged men in the thought of going out to America. Three editions of Higginson's famous book, *New-Englands Plantation*, a skilful colonization tract, were to be published in London in rapid succession in the year 1630. Apparently such pamphlets sold well as early as 1602. These glowing descriptions of the

<sup>14</sup>*Records of Massachusetts*, I. 386-398; 398-407: especially 386, 393, 398, and 403-404.

<sup>15</sup>*Records of Massachusetts*, I. 38.

<sup>16</sup>*3 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, IX. 257.



possibilities of the New World undoubtedly exercised great influence on those men and women, who, surrounded with every luxury, may have hesitated to leave old England to brave the hardships of the new. Before long, the two chief actors in the drama, Endecott, the Governor of the Plantation, and Winthrop, the Governor of the Company, were to meet at Salem, to exercise thereafter a commanding influence on the life, the policy, and the future of the Colony.

John Winthrop came of the squire class in England, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, lived in a comfortable country house, and, for those days, was considered a man of wealth. Although his political and ecclesiastical surroundings were very distasteful to him, his willingness to leave England is an instance of the idealism which prompted most of his acts. During nearly thirteen of the nineteen years he lived in New England, he was called "The Right Worshipful John Winthrop Esquire Governor of the Massachusetts," and served seven years as either Deputy-Governor or Assistant. His path was not an easy one. When he was impeached and acquitted, in 1645, at a time when he became involved in a controversy with the deputies, who aspired to excessive power by the exercise of judicial authority, he rose above the ingratitude of his fellows and used the following words in regard to liberty:

The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it; and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard (not only of your goods, but) of your lives, if need be. Whatsoever crosseth this, is not authority, but a distemper thereof. This liberty is maintained and exercised in a way of subjection to authority; it is of the same kind of liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1869), II. 341.









ELSON CO., INC.

John Winthrop  
Nov 31 1628

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*From the original in the possession of Grenville L. Winthrop Esq.*







As regards liberty exercised in "subjection to authority," the members of the Winthrop family who are present here to-night must be pleased that they are not called upon to drink healths, for John Winthrop was much opposed to the practice, and wrote of it as early as October 25, 1630:

The Governor vpon consideration of the inconveniences which had growne in England, by drinking one to another, restrayned it at his owne table and wished others to doe the like, so as it grewe, by little and little, to dysvse.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps as a consequence of Winthrop's feelings, on December 10, 1639:

At the general court, an order was made to abolish that vain custom of drinking one to another, and that upon these and other grounds:

1. It was a thing of no good use.
2. It was an inducement to drunkenness, and occasion of quarrelling and bloodshed.
3. It occasioned much waste of wine and beer.
4. It was very troublesome to many, especially the masters and mistresses of the feast, who were forced thereby to drink more oft then they would, etc.<sup>19</sup>

His passionate devotion to his work as an administrator of the affairs of the Colony was so great that he neglected his private business till his fortune, both here and in England, was greatly reduced. On February 2, 1640, Endecott wrote Winthrop a letter of condolence expressing his regret at hearing of the latter's loss of his property abroad through the misconduct of his bailiff.<sup>20</sup> John Fiske, in *The Beginnings of New England*, describes Winthrop as "a man of remarkable strength and beauty of character; grave and modest; intelligent and scholarlike, intensely religious and endowed with a moral sensitiveness that was almost morbid yet liberal withal in his opinions and charitable in his disposition."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>18</sup>*Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, LXII. 355.

<sup>19</sup>Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. 390. See also *Records of Massachusetts*, I. 271-272.

<sup>20</sup>*4 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.* VI. 136-138.

<sup>21</sup>John Fiske, *The Beginnings of New England* (Boston, 1889), 102.



The Winthrop papers, which have, fortunately, been preserved from generation to generation, are of enormous interest from an historical point of view, and have been called by a noted historian "the most important family collection in our colonial history."<sup>22</sup> Through the generosity of certain descendants these papers are now being published by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have always been interested to discover anything relating to Endecott's early life in Salem and especially to know about his public life while he was Governor of the Plantation. Unfortunately my ancestors never preserved a collection of family papers, and all the documents of the government of the Plantation, before the coming of Winthrop, have been lost. Much material has of late years been discovered in the Public Record Office in London and in private and state papers in this country. Until all this has been examined the story of his life must remain a meagre one.

Only recently he was supposed to have been born at Dorchester, Dorsetshire, but that is an error. He may have been a native of Chagford in the County of Devon, where Endicotts still reside and where the church records are full of men and women of that name. While he was a resident of London he married Anna Gower, a cousin of Matthew Cradock, soon to be Governor of the Bay Company, by whom he had no children. Roger Ludlow was his brother-in-law, having married the sister of his second wife. His first wife was probably in very poor health from the time of her arrival, for already on February 16, 1628/29, Cradock, in answer to the first letter from Endecott, writes: "and to heare [that] my good cozen, your wyfe

<sup>22</sup>Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, 349. The Winthrop Papers were presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society by the late Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., his late widow, and their daughter, Miss Clara B. Winthrop of Manchester, Massachusetts.





were perfectly recouered of her health would be [ac]ceptable newes to vs all; which God graunt in his good tyme that wee may."<sup>23</sup>

During this first winter Endecott's wife died, and not long afterwards he wrote a touching letter to William Bradford at Plymouth in which he says:

It is a thing not usuall, that servants of one m[aste]r and of the same houshold should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not, nay, to speake more plainly, I cannot be so to you. Gods people are all marked with one and the same marke, and sealed with one and the same scale, and have for the maine, one and the same harte, guided by one and the same spirite of truth; and wher this is, ther can be no discorde, nay, here must needs be sweete harmonie.<sup>24</sup>

On Thursday, August 18, 1630, "Captain Endecott and [Elizabeth] Gibson were married by the Governour and Mr. Wilson," who was the noted pastor of the Church in Boston.<sup>25</sup> From this marriage two sons were born, John Endecott, Jr., who died childless, and Zerubbabel, who was the father of fourteen children, and from whom are descended all those who claim Governor John Endecott as ancestor. Apparently both sons of the Governor were trained in medicine, for the signature, "Jo: Endecott Cirurgion", on the bill for services submitted to the General Court December 27, 1667, must be that of John Endecott, Jr. (1631 or 1634—1667/68.), for the Governor himself was dead, and John Endecott III was still a boy.

The loss of all the letters and reports Endecott sent back to England, first, as agent of the purchasers and then as

<sup>23</sup>*Records of Massachusetts*, I. 383. This letter of Endecott, dated September 13, 1628, can not now be found.

<sup>24</sup>William Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation* (Worthington C. Ford, Ed., Boston, 1912), II. 90.

<sup>25</sup>Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. 35. The name Gibson, in the original text, is deciphered with difficulty. Some one, probably Winthrop himself, has retraced it. If the last name of Endecott's second wife was actually Gibson, then she must have been a widow, although she was only about sixteen, for it seems safe to assume that she was a daughter of Philobert Cogan of Chard, co. Somerset, whose will, proved April 12, 1641, mentions one son and six daughters, among the latter Mary Ludloe and Elizabeth Endecott. *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, XLIII. 309-310.





Governor of the Plantation, leaves an important gap in the history of the founding of Massachusetts. His earliest letter to his associates was dated September 13, 1628, about a week after his arrival at Naumkeag on the *Abigail*. Exactly five months later this letter reached the hands of Matthew Cradock, who answered it on February 16, 1628/29, from his "howse in Swithens Lane, neere London Stone." A second letter to Endecott was sent out in duplicate from Gravesend (April 17 and 21, 1629) by Cradock and Goffe in their respective capacities of Governor and Deputy-Governor of the Company. This "First General Letter" announces the news of the granting of the Charter and the dispatch of a copy of it and the silver seal with Sharpe, the personal agent of Cradock. This letter states that Endecott has been "confirmed" as Governor of the Plantation and names seven members of a council of twelve to be associated with him in the management of the administration. Of the remaining five places, the old planters were to supply two from themselves. The first copy of this letter left the Thames with Sharpe on the *George* about April 17; the second copy, with a postscript dated four days later, left Gravesend with Higginson on April 25. But the dates of these letters are more than two weeks in advance of the actual sailings from the Isle of Wight.

The "Second General Letter," dated London and Gravesend (May 28 and June 3, 1629), shows that the confirmation of Endecott as Governor was only a temporary measure in anticipation of his election by the General Court of the Company, for Cradock writes as follows:

Wee have, sithence our last, and according as wee then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, elected and established yow, Captaine John Endicott, to the place of present Gouvernour in our plantacion there, as also some others to bee of the councell with yow, as more particularly yow will perceive by an act of Court herewith sent, confirmed by vs at a Generall Court, and sealed with our common seal;<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup>*Records of Massachusetts*, I. 383-385; 386-398; 398-407: especially 383, 387, and 399. See also I. 37 j.





There were really three "first Governors" of what was to develop into the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for Matthew Cradock was first and Charter Governor of the Company in London (March 18 to October 20, 1629); John Endecott was first and only Governor of "Londons Plantacion in the Mattachusetts Bay in New England" (April 30, 1629, to June 12, 1630, or even later), and John Winthrop was second Governor of the Company (October 20, 1629, to June 12, 1630) and first Governor of the Colony from his arrival at Salem on the latter date, until May 18, 1631, the date of the first election to be held in Massachusetts, when he was chosen to succeed himself.

Although it is often said that Winthrop's landing terminated the government of London's Plantation, this can not be quite accurate, for on April 30, 1629, Endecott was first elected, in London, to be Governor at Salem, to hold office for "the yeare to begin from the time he shall take his oath" which he could not possibly have done before the middle of July, 1629, the postscript to the letter containing this information bearing the date of June 3, 1629. The confusion of the transplanting of the Company seems to have made it inexpedient to conform to the express terms of the Charter, for Winthrop himself, when first elected Governor, in London, should have served only the remainder of Cradock's term, instead of "for the ensuing yeare, to begin on this present day." Yet even then, after the full year had elapsed, no election was held in the Colony in October, 1630, so that Winthrop's first term as Governor adds up to nineteen months, the last twelve of which he served without proper authority, according to the plain language of the Charter. All the Easter Term of 1630, it will be remembered, was spent at sea.

John Endecott was not a man to shirk responsibility. When he learned of the "ungodly" doings at Morton's "Merry Mount" where a "School of Atheism" had been established (in what is now the City of Quincy) he did not stop





to find out if the settlement lay within the precise limit of his authority, but went at once to the scene of dissipation, cut down the offending Maypole, and "admonished them to looke ther should be better walking."<sup>27</sup> The act was characteristic, for in September, 1634, Endecott, while he was one of the seven military commissioners of the Colony, publicly defaced the royal ensign then carried by the militia company in Salem. There is no exact evidence as to just what he did on that occasion, but history has accused him of cutting out the cross (or part of it) from the flag because it represented to him both ecclesiastical and monarchical superstition. His act was considered by some in the light of an attack upon the authority of the King. Charles I, however, was otherwise occupied with his own affairs, and the incident passed unnoticed in England. But his rashness excited the colonists. In November, 1634, a complaint of Endecott's act "in altering the crosse in the ensigne att Salem" was made to the Court of Assistants.<sup>28</sup> The matter was referred for hearing and determination at the next Court, which on May 6, 1635, disapproved his act and forbade him to hold office for one year.<sup>29</sup> There would seem to have been no real desire to punish Endecott for his sentiments, for while the question was pending, the commissioners for military affairs gave orders that all ensigns should be temporarily laid aside, and in 1636 definitely decided that the cross should

<sup>27</sup>Bradford, *History of Plymouth*, II. 50. The statement that Endecott, late in 1629, offered the old planters of Massachusetts a share in the official fur-trading monopoly of the Company, and that Morton refused to participate, would seem to rest on the unsupported word of the latter. Endecott had authority to make such an offer, and Morton's refusal would have made him an interloper on the land of the Company. But Morton implies that his subsequent difficulties sprang from his having stood out against Endecott in the conference called at Salem. See C. F. Adams, *The New English Canaan of Thomas Morton* (Boston, The Prince Society, 1883), 39 and 304-308; *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston, 1892) I. 225-226; Morison, *Builders of the Bay*, 17.

<sup>28</sup>*Records of the Court of Assistants, 1630-1692* (Boston, 1904), II. 50. *Records of Massachusetts*, I. 137. Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. 174-175.

<sup>29</sup>*Records of Massachusetts*, I. 145-146.







*Sword Owned by Governor Endecott  
Now in the possession of William C. Endicott, Esq.*



be left out of the flag. Until 1686 no Massachusetts military company ever carried the old ensign.<sup>30</sup>

When the late Cecil Arthur Spring Rice, British Ambassador at Washington during a part of the period of the Great War, visited Salem in 1888, and saw the sword, now in my possession, with which Governor John Endecott is said to have cut the red cross from the King's colours, he wrote the following sonnet:

Beneath the cross that under Acre's walls  
 flanked the winds of Paynim Palestine  
 high over English Richard's mailed line  
 one whom like him nor death nor hell appalls  
 stands:—one like him a fiery summons calls  
 across the seas—and filled with rage divine  
 he lifts his hand—and lo! the crimson sign  
 of ancient faith and scorned allegiance falls.  
 Hew from St. George's banner—hew the cross—  
 old symbols let them go, old signs decay  
 old ties be severed—ties of law and name—  
 not great thy loss if these be cast away  
 if these alone be lost not great thy loss—  
 so be the heart and will remain the same.

John Endecott has always suffered, if I may use the expression, from a hostile press. Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Whittier have portrayed him as a proud, uncompromising, cruel man. Though he has been accused of being autocratic and irascible, of imposing his will upon others, the colonists elected him Governor fifteen times (oftener than they did any other man) and Deputy-Governor five times. Colonial authors could not have inspired the literary legends of the nineteenth century, for about 1650 Captain Edward Johnson, for instance, wrote of him as follows:

<sup>30</sup>See Winthrop, *History of New England*, I. 186, 188, 215; II. 421. Also, Sidney Perley, *The History of Salem* (Salem, 1924), I. 259-263; Howard M. Chapin, *The New England Flag* (Providence, 1930). The same author's *Roger Williams and the King's Colors* (Providence, 1928), is an interesting treatment of the whole controversy, which really extended over more than half a century: 1634-1686.





John Endicat *twice Governour of the English, inhabiting the  
Mattachusetts Bay in N. England.*

*Strong valiant John wilt thou march on, and take up station first,  
Christ cal'd hath thee, his Souldier be, and faile not of thy trust;  
Wilderness wants Christs grace supplants, the plant his Churches pure,  
With Tongues gifted, and graces led, help thou to his procure;  
Undanted thou wilt not allow, Malignant men to wast:  
Christs Vineyard heere, whose grace should cheer, his well-beloved's  
tast.*

*Then honoured be, thy Christ hath thee their Generall promoted:  
To shew their love, in place above, his people have thee voted.  
Yet must thou fall, to grave with all the Nobles of the Earth,  
Thou rotting worme, to dust must turn, and worse but for new  
birth.<sup>31</sup>*

In this connection it may be of interest to summarize the verdict of Palfrey, who writes of Endecott's death:

Personally he [Endecott] was lamented with sincere affection. His honesty, frankness, fearlessness, and generous public spirit had won their proper guerdon in the general esteem. . . . In some sense, he might fitly be called the father of Massachusetts rather than any other man. He it was that first engaged, in England, to plant a colony of Englishmen within her borders. He conducted to her shore the first band of emigrants that numbered so many as three scores of men. He drove Episcopacy from her domain, when the harboring of Episcopacy might have been fatal; and he took a decisive part in the primitive arrangement of her ecclesiastical constitutions. . . . Undoubting in faith and heartily devout, but otherwise a man of action much more than of sentiment, his life-long purpose of unreserved obedience to God, and active usefulness to man, was vigorous and buoyant. . . . The difficulties of the last part of his public career were great; and he passed through them free from the reproach, not more of timidity, than of any other kind of selfishness. Neither the impetuosity of his character, nor any weak self-conceit, prevented him from securing the advantage of good counsel. He knew his place, and did not hesitate to claim it; but he knew it too well to be envious of a superior, or jealous of rivals. . . . New England, when she counts up the benefactors eminently worthy of her grateful and reverent remembrance, can never omit his name.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, 19. This book was first published in 1654; Mr. Poole believed Johnson could not have worked on it later than 1651, during which year Endecott was serving his third term as Governor of the Colony, having been elected for the first and second times in May, 1644, and 1649.

<sup>32</sup>Palfrey, *The History of New England*, II. 598-600.





On the other hand, students of history who are critical of Endecott may be discouraged to remember that their judgment of him concurs with that of His Majesty, King Charles II, according to the letter Mr. Secretary Morice sent to the Colony in February, 1665:

since his Majesty hath too much reason to suspect that Mr. Endecott, who hath during all the late revolutions continued the government there, is not a person well affected to his Majesties person or his government, his Majestie will take it very well if at the next election any other person of good reputation be chosen in the place, and that he may noe longer exercise that charge.<sup>33</sup>

This test of loyalty was avoided, for Endecott was dead at the time of the next election in May, 1665.

The King's distrust of Endecott at this time seems to have been provoked chiefly by the Governor's failure to lay hands on two regicides, for the legal murder of his father was one of the very few subjects on which Charles II felt strongly, over any great length of time. Two former members of the High Court of Justice, General Edward Whalley, first cousin of Cromwell, and General William Goffe, who had married Whalley's daughter, arrived in Boston Harbour July 27, 1660. Under the assumed names of Richardson and Shepardson, they went to live in Cambridge, moving about openly among people who knew who they were. On August 9, 1660, copies of the official orders for the pursuit and capture of all regicides reached Boston; yet just a week later Goffe took supper with President Chauncy of Harvard, who was persuaded "the Lord had brought us to this country for good both to them and ourselves." The reception of the Judges in Massachusetts became something of a scandal in England, and matters were only made worse by what was quite accurately thought to be the connivance of the Colonial government at their escape into Connecticut in March, 1661. By October 13, 1664, both Whalley and Goffe had reached

<sup>33</sup>Thomas Hutchinson, *A Collection of Original Papers* (Boston, 1769), 392. "Copy of a Letter from Secretary Morice to the Massachusetts Colony." Whitehall, February 25, 1664/65, 390-392.





their permanent refuge with the Reverend John Russell, in Hadley, to drop out of public sight for ever. Four months later, at the time King Charles sent out word of his desire for a new Governor in Massachusetts, he must have known that these two of his father's judges had escaped him—thanks to Endecott's failure to arrest them immediately.<sup>34</sup>

William Shirley alone, it is often said, exceeded Endecott's service as Governor of Massachusetts, having held that office, by appointment, just fifteen years. But of this term he spent three years and nine months on leave of absence in England and France; so the actual service of Endecott at the head of affairs is the longest on record. For continuity and variety of service, too, he is unrivalled. From June, 1628, until his death in March, 1665, he held at least one office, and sometimes three, year after year—with the exception of the one period (1635-1636) when he was deliberately passed over by the General Court because of his rash treatment of the ensign at Salem the previous autumn. He left England as the agent of the original purchasers; on April 30, 1629, the General Court of the Company elected him Governor of London's Plantation; on October 20, 1629, the day John Winthrop was first elected Governor of the Company, Endecott was elected an Assistant, the position he was to fill, off and on, for fifteen years. Five times he was elected Deputy-Governor, and for two years (1637-1639) he sat on the short-lived Permanent Council of 1636-1639. Four years he served as Major-General of the Massachusetts Bay (1645-1649); three years as Commissioner of the United Colonies (1646-1649), over which Commission he twice sat as President (1653 and 1658). Besides acting as Governor of the Colony at four different periods totalling fourteen years and ten months, he commanded the Block Island Expedition against the Pequots in 1636, made one of the commission of

<sup>34</sup>For a good account of the regicides in New England, see George Sheldon, "Introduction to the New Edition," in Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, 1905).





four to draw the boundary line between Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay in 1640, served on a committee of three empowered "to dispose of all lands and other things at Cape Ann" in 1641, and as Overseer shared the responsibilities of Harvard College after 1642.

While he was one of the Harvard Overseers in 1649, just after he had succeeded John Winthrop as Governor, Endecott, together with certain other distinguished members of the Colony, issued the following order, which was twice inserted in the records of the College:

Forasmuch as the wearing of long haire after the manner of Ruffians and barbarous Indians hath begun to invade new England contrary to the rule of Gods word which sayth it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, as also the Commendable Custome generally of all the Godly of our nation, until within this few yeares Wee the Magistrates who have subscribed this paper (for the clearing of our owne innocency in this behalfe) doe declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long haire, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners. Wee doe therefore earnestly entreat all the Elders of this Jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause) to manifest their zeal against it, in their Publike administrations, and to take Care that the members of their respective Churches bee not defiled therewith, that so such as shall proove obstinate and will not reforme themselves may have god and man to bear witnes against them

The third Month. 10. day 1649

John Endicott Governor

Thomas Dudley Deputy Deputy Governor

Richard Bellingham

Richard Saltonstall

Increase Nowell

William Hibbins

Thomas Flint

Robert Bridges

Simon Bradstreet<sup>35</sup>

<sup>35</sup>This order, dated May 10, 1649, is to be found in *Publications of the Colonial Society*, xv. 37-38, and also 197-198. Dudley's repetition of "Deputy" in his title must have been a slip of the pen. Public anxiety about the "lust" for wearing long hair at Harvard was alive as late as 1673, when a petition against it (signed, among others, by John Eliot) was presented to the magistrates. 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.* ix. 98-99.





Inasmuch as the original portrait of Endecott, painted in Boston in 1664/65 and now in my possession, shows him wearing long white hair, apparently he was of the opinion that rules of propriety for youth and old age were different.

Endecott was honoured with extensive grants of land by the General Court: as early as 1632 he was given the Orchard Farm, three hundred acres "aboute 3 myles from Salem"; in 1639, another area of five hundred and fifty acres on the Ipswich River, near Rowley; in 1655, Catta Island, near Marblehead; and in 1658 a quarter of Block Island.<sup>36</sup>

In 1660 a deed of land by the Indians to John Endecott, Jr., led to a vote of the General Court by way of recognition, which was indirectly expressed in the following words:

considering the many kindnesses that were shewne to the Indians by our honored Gouvernour in the infancy of these plantations, for the pacifying the Indians, tending to the common good of the first planters, in consideration whereof the Indians were mooved to such a gratuity vnto his sonne, [the General Court] doe judge meete to give the petitioner fower hundred acres of land.

The Court, it is interesting to note, refused to "confirme the Indians deed" but granted the land in question on its own authority.<sup>37</sup>

While he was Governor in 1652 the General Court authorized the setting up of a mint and the first coining of money. Massachusetts was the only colony ever to do this. The excuse offered for this unauthorized exercise of sovereignty was the influx of Spanish coins and counterfeit money. Again while he was Governor, in 1662, the issue of two-penny pieces began. The numbers on the dies were never changed from year to year, so that all the colonial money of Massachusetts is dated either 1652 or 1662.

<sup>36</sup>*Records of Massachusetts*, I. 97, 277, 305; III. 389; IV. (1), 356.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, IV. (1), 427.







MHS

Elson Co. Inc. Belmont, Me.

W. Endicott  
Salus.  
5 · 12 · 40.

*From the original in the possession of William C. Endicott, Esq.*





Usurping the royal right to coin money became a serious offence after the restoration of the Stuarts in the person of Charles II. The Commonwealth and the Protectorate were none too eager to stir up questions of legality, and interfered with caution in colonial affairs. I am afraid that "The humble petition and addresse of the Generall Court" sitting at Boston in New England "To the high and mighty Prince Charles II" and presented to "His Most Excellent Majesty the 11th day of February 1660 by John Endecott in the name and with the consent of the General Court" had been soon forgotten and that the colonists made up their minds to defy the King by continuing to coin money. It is said that Charles II was angry and intended to take drastic steps to stop this coinage, but Sir Thomas Temple<sup>38</sup> by a diplomatic ruse convinced His Majesty that the pine tree represented the honoured oak where Charles hid himself on his royal flight from Worcester—with the result that the penalty was postponed until 1684, when the Charter of March 4, 1628/29 was vacated in Chancery. In this process, three usurpations were dwelt upon—coining of money, levying of taxes (which had been done as early as 1631 by the Court of Assistants), and requiring an oath of fealty to the Colony, a practice of the preceding seven years.<sup>39</sup>

One can not judge the character of men and women who lived in the seventeenth century by the standards of the twentieth. Toleration had no place in the lives of the Puritans. Whatever their defects—intolerance, bigotry, and other unlovely qualities—they did establish a government free from feudal or hereditary principles from the time of the granting of the Charter in 1629 until the order for its vacating in 1684. All pioneers in a new civilization combat anything which interferes with immediate plans. In

<sup>38</sup>*Transactions and Collections*, American Antiquarian Society, III. 293. Note C. (281-306) is an excellent essay on the coinage of Massachusetts (1652-1684) by S. F. Haven.

<sup>39</sup>*4 Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. II. 257-261.*

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doing so, they deal with those who do not have the same views and vision as themselves with a heavy and often with a cruel hand. Certain defects of Endecott's character—the less pleasant side, indeed, of two of his virtues: decision of judgment and vigour in action—showed themselves most noticeably during the persecution of the Quakers, without some mention of whom no sketch of Endecott could pretend to be completely frank. Governor Winthrop was blamed more than once for mildness by his contemporaries, but now their own descendants find it hard to forgive or forget the harshness of Governor Endecott. Yet all the right could not have been on one side, for the General Court itself became fiercely divided on the question of whipping, banishing, and hanging Quakers. Even the charitable inhabitants of Rhode Island found these Friends a bit difficult as fellow-citizens.

Evidence as to what actually happened at the hearings is not always of the best—as, for instance, in the case of the story that Governor Endecott offered Mary Dyer the chance to escape death by means of denying her identity at her final appearance before the magistrates in 1660. William Sewel first printed this story in his *History of the Quakers*,<sup>40</sup> a book bitterly hostile to Endecott, and bases his inference on the alleged circumstance of a second Mary Dyer's having come into the Colony between the banishment and return of the first. This interpretation of Endecott's attitude is suggestive, for it seems to show that Sewel, in order to magnify the courage of the martyr, allowed himself to assign to her prosecutor a generous motive utterly inconsistent with his own description of the Governor's character. To suppose, on the other hand, that Endecott asked his question, "*Are you the same Mary Dyar that was here before?*" with the deliberate intent to trap the devoted woman in a lie, is to twist a mere formality into an act of malice.

<sup>40</sup>William Sewel, *The History of the Rise, Increase, and Progress of the Christian People called Quakers*. (London, 1725), 226. See *Records of Massachusetts*, IV. (1), 419.





Endecott and Winthrop remained friends from the day they first met at Salem. As to character they were very different: Endecott fearless—not a politician in the true sense of that word—generally succeeded in accomplishing what he considered best for the Colony. Winthrop was full of tact and wisdom with none of the uncompromising characteristics of Endecott, whose military training had much to do with his attitude towards life. The close of what was probably the last letter Endecott ever wrote to Winthrop is so typical as to deserve being quoted:

Good Sir let vs labour to loue [one] another and harbour the best thoughts one of another, we haue not longe to liue heere in this life, yet we shall heere remaine as long as our appointed times are sett. I cannot tell whither any expressions in my last lettre may trouble you. I did not (I ame sure) intend any such thing, and therefore I beseech you take all in good parte. And labour for chierfulnes of spiritt, you know who hath commaunded it. You serue a good Maister, and therefore reioice in him.

Orchard. 5. 1 mo. 1648.

[Orchard Farm, March 5, 1649.]<sup>41</sup>

Both were educated gentlemen. The Winthrop *Journal* and the *Papers* and the few letters of Endecott still in existence prove this beyond question. When the great Jesuit priest, Father Gabriel Druillette, came to Boston, Endecott was the only man in the Colony who could speak French with him. With John Eliot and others he was obliged to talk in Latin.<sup>42</sup>

I see before me a long list of Puritan Governors who served the Colony well under the Charter: Matthew Craddock, John Endecott, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, John Haynes, Henry Vane, Richard Bellingham, John Leverett and Simon Bradstreet. These Puritans had used their Charter too well to suit the Mother Country, and fortunate it was that Endecott and Winthrop, who had

<sup>41</sup>*Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vi. 15f.

<sup>42</sup>Palfrey, *History of New England*, II. 307 n. 1.





established free government, free religion (at least from their point of view), and free schools in the wilderness, did not live long enough to see a governor from England land at Boston with all the pomp and circumstance of British royalty.

Fifty-two years ago, when my honoured father delivered before the Essex Institute an address at the commemoration of the landing of John Endecott, he closed as follows:

*The Province Charter and its royal governor did not destroy what the Puritan had done.* Child of the century that preceded him, trained and educated for his great work, he had builded wisely and well. The town government and the town meeting which he had created proved indestructible, and the school-house, though built of logs, more enduring than castle or cathedral. All that was best in his principles of conduct and methods of government had passed into the life, the thought, the social habits of the people, and was stamped on the character of his posterity; from father to son, through successive generations, were transmitted a love of liberty, an obedience to law, a desire for knowledge, a reverence for the teacher and the teachings of religion, a faculty for understanding and dealing with public interests, a wise economy and thrift, a deep seated belief that the general welfare was more desirable than private good or gain, and with all these a fervent love for the hills and valleys of New England.

And so may it be to the end; and may your descendants who meet here, as fifty or a hundred years go round, to commemorate the landing at Salem, be true and faithful to the memory of their fathers, and stand for the liberty and truth which the Puritan taught, with the hazard not only of their goods, but of their lives, if need be.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>*Historical Collections.* Essex Institute, xv. 280.





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